20c NOVEMBER 27, 1950

New Republic

81ST CONGRESS— THE LAST MILE

AN EDITORIAL

WILL COMMUNISM WIN IN ASIA?

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

THE MID-TERM PARADOX

By GUS TYLER

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:

FRANCO'S ENVOY

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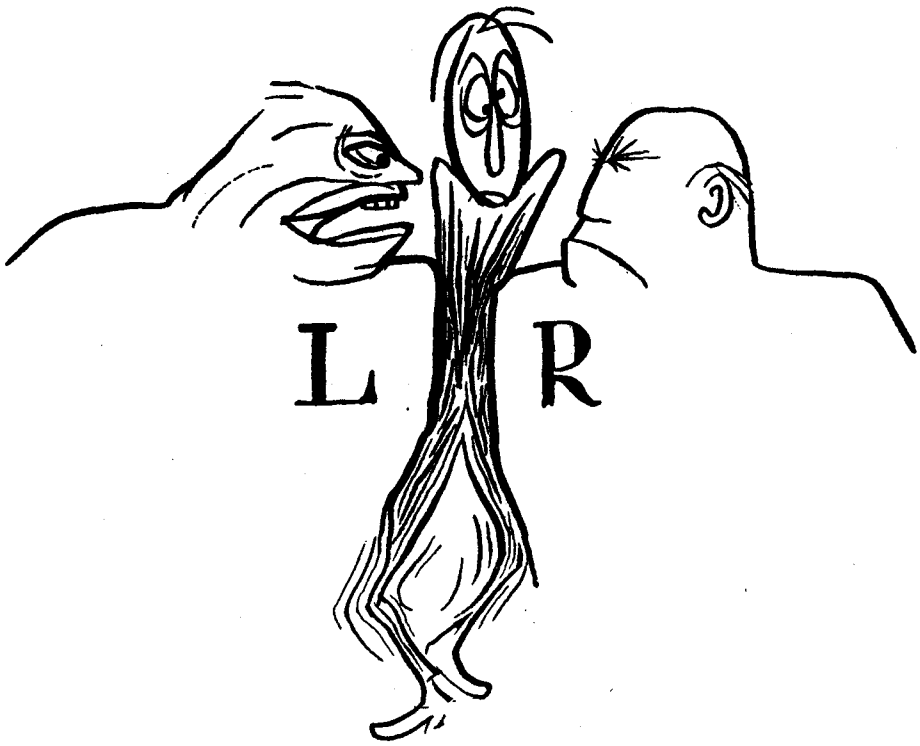

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR NOV. 27, 1950

5 81st Congress—The Last Mile An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Spectre of World War
6 War in Korea
7 Better Late than GOP
7 World Economic Aid
8 Texas Farmers Win
8 Bigger and Better Probes
8 Controls To Come
9 Outside America
10 Will Communism Win in Asia? by Michael Straight
13 Bigotry in Bartlesville by Jean Begeman
14 The Mid-Term Paradox by Gus Tyler
16 Harold L. Ickes
17 Books:
17 The Big Fraternity by David Fellman
17 Four-Star Optimist by Albert Z. Carr
18 Ecstasy and Order by Louise Bogan
18 Judaism and the Jews by Johan J. Smertenko
20 The New Feudalism, reviewed by Theodore Norman
20 On the Air
21 Theatre

EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling

REPORTER: Jean Begeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

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WASHINGTON WIRE

NOTHING HAS been watched more closely since the election than Truman's intentions toward the Fair Deal. It's too early to be definitive, but we judge he has not decided to drop it. Truman has almost everything to gain in the short run by selling out to the conservative Dixiecrats and making common cause with them against the GOP. It would smooth the next two years for him enormously—and would lose the 1952 election. Truman has got to have labor and the liberal city masses. They are hard to fool, too. If there were no ideological difference between the two parties, the voters out of sheer boredom with Democrats after 20 years would probably choose the GOP, just to give the "outs" a chance. To give the little man credit we think Truman believes in his brand of liberalism.

Chucking the Excess Profits Tax recommendation into Congress' lap was the best evidence of Truman's unchanged position. This EPT is really turning into quite a fight symbolizing as it does so many current factors. It is technical, of course, but not too hard to understand. Truman wants a special tax on corporations to siphon off war profits; his technicians argue that most of the faults of previous EPT experiments have been eliminated in the new version. How are you ever going to get labor to make appropriate sacrifices, they ask, if business is piling up big profits out of bloody war? You would think this would be a tough argument to answer, but business is answering it all right. The first answer is delay. Almost certainly business is going to block action in the Senate, after the House rams the Truman bill through. That will hand the thing on to the incoming Congress where business power will be even stronger. Next there are all sorts of arguments that high taxes are "inflationary," that this particular tax is "cumbersome," that sales taxes on consumers would be preferable and that maybe a little inflation wouldn't be a bad thing. Incidentally, wholesale prices and Wall Street prices are both setting records.

Our guess as to what will happen: each party now has a beautiful opportunity to blame the obstinacy of the other for preventing the steps requisite for the Spartan pay-as-you-go policy to which everybody pays lip service. Higher taxes are inevitable but we guess EPT won't pass; Congress will couple higher corporation income taxes with a batch of consumer (excise) taxes; and each side will use the other as its own excuse for not balancing the budget.

In the jangle of 150 reporters, kleig lights and three movie tripods at the first Taft post-election interview, we studied the Taft face and meditated on the man. A simian photographer behind us was climbing the wall and making the prisms of the glass chandeliers ring in the big gilt, marble and crystal room. Here was victory; how would Taft take it? He took it well. A Bricker or Capehart would have swelled like a frog. Taft, talking into five microphones, was natural, ruddy-faced and beaming, his side hair slicked over his bald dome. Would he make a good President? No, we think he would be awful. But in private or even in an affair like this Taft is engaging. He has a disarming boyish grin. He did not bloat nor gloat nor use platitudes. Why had he won? He gave the same forthright explanation his CIO antagonist Kroll gave: Taft supporters turned out almost to the percentage indicated; anti-Taft voters came out only in part. Taft's directness lies in part in the fact that Ohio victory is only the semi-final round. His big target is the White House. Taft will be 63 in 1952, so that is probably his last chance. Asked point blank if he would accept the nomination if offered, Taft gulped, blushed as prettily as a girl

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under his bald head, and blurted out "Yes." The one word Eisenhower doesn't know.

The last time we saw Vandenberg he looked like a ghost. Much will depend on his strength in the new session, for he has great influence. He backs liberal Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) for the GOP vacancy on the Foreign Relations Committee, as against Knowland (R, Calif.), an ardent Henry Luce-type Formosa Firster. Vandenberg is expected to quit the powerful GOP Senate Policy Committee, and there will be a battle over that vacancy, too. Taft, after saying "only an idiot would be an isolationist today" proposed Everett (Chicago *Tribune*) Dirksen (R, Ill.) for the job. Maybe Vandenberg can stop that. Taft actually won't quarrel with Vandenberg. In the next two years Taft has got to show how "liberal" he is for election purposes. This Taft personal ambition may be a restraining influence on the GOP wild men.

Dictator Franco will get US loans primarily because Truman is so anxious to aid drought-hit Yugoslavia. Congress probably won't vote the one without the other. Largely to conciliate Catholic election districts, the last session of Congress approved $62.5 million for Spain. Communist Tito has the top Catholic prelate in jail. But he's on our side against Stalin, and there are signs he'll open peace parleys with the Vatican.

Notes. NY *Times* pundit Krock has really been feeling his oats since the glorious elections news: Ohio labor's effort to beat Taft, Krock says, was the most "autocratic and irresponsible" election attempt in history, while in a subsequent column he denied that good old Senator Byrd (D, Va.) is a "conservative"; Byrd is one of the outstanding leaders of "moderates." . . . The enterprising NY *Post* got hold of the Pegler column on the attempted assassination of Truman which Pegler's own syndicate ordered killed; it was a pretty sickening affair with Peg's sympathy apparently on the side of the killers. . . . Truman has now vainly asked about 30 men to take his price stabilization job. . . .

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Bold Point Four

SIR: It was recently announced that America's first formal Point Four project would be undertaken in Iran and would begin by setting up a rural demonstration center. Three more are expected in operation by next June and a total of 10 a year later, at a cost of $500,000 (See *NR*, October 30). . . .

The high hopes kindled by the announcement of Point Four in January, 1949, were dampened by the debate in Congress. . . . The recent announcement of its implementation must come as a shock to all who looked to the United States for bold and imaginative leadership in the fight against Communism on the plane of combating impoverishment and poverty.

The Communist-dominated countries are straining their resources to the utmost in carrying out bold investment plans. . . . These catch the imagination of people . . . and ensure a measure of popular support, especially as the Communist press contrasts them to the slowness and ineffectiveness of the democratic countries.

If it takes a year and a half to think out the setting up of demonstration centers as a means of improving rural life in underdeveloped countries, and another year and a half to set up 10 such centers in a country of the size of Iran, people in such countries will cease to look to Point Four and the United States for help in developing their resources. . . .

To serve its purpose well, Point Four must be made really bold and imaginative. Let us hope that the new head of the Technical Corporation Administration, Henry Garland Bennett, former President of Oklahoma A and M College, will make a new start.

Washington L. HAMILTON

"Oriental Psychology"

SIR: Your editorial, "Truman Meets MacArthur" (October 23), expresses, I believe, the sentiments of the majority of the American people. It draws a sharp line between General MacArthur's and the Administration's views on an Asiatic policy. MacArthur's conception of "Oriental psychology" is as outdated as it is irrational. It derives from a military mentality blind to the implications of ferments of unrest and new psychological factors at work against old background in Asia.

The Asian may still respect the power of "aggressive, resolute and dynamic leadership," but he fears it no longer and knows how to resist it if he suspects it to be against his interests. Long under Western domination, he looks with suspicion upon every Western move in Asia, interpreting it as selfish projection as interloper, identifying it with colonialism, feudalism or imperialism. His prejudice is too deep to trust even the leadership in his midst, working with Westerners on the job of his liberation.

In Asia the historical process of political, economic and social emancipation is just in its initial stage. This transition period in the life of people breaking out of the hateful old into the unknown new is often very critical.

In addition, opportunistic Communism has met the opportune hour of deliverance in Asia, making it possible to assume the role of redeemer, surround the nationalistic movement with a halo of zealous crusading—a powerful psychological factor in arousing restive peoples to violent reactions.

There's rationality in treating the sensitive Asian with circumspection and statecraft. What MacArthur calls "appeasement" is nothing but patience, to gain the Asian's confidence in us, by "translating our words of friendship into deeds."

This process may entail arduous work, but it is less costly all around and more promising.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

The Causes of Corruption

SIR: It is so easy to condemn the present party structure ("Voters Need Better Parties," *NR*, October 30), and to present remedies for it, as the committee of the American Political Science Association has done.

All the recommendations suggested by the latter group are fine indeed, and would, if adopted by the two major parties, immeasurably improve political action in this country. Unfortunately, the APSA group evidently has made one glaring omission in their analysis of political parties, for no mention is made of the fundamental reason for the corruption, selfishness and poor leadership that is connected with the organizations that control our political destiny. This fundamental reason can be wrapped up in a few short words—disinterest on the part of the population; general indifference on the part of the people; an unwillingness to get involved in the "dirty" game of politics; acceptance of so many other interests in life that political activity is just something that occurs when an election rolls around.

LAWRENCE I. GOULD

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

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took a far worse drubbing than the United Nations forces.

The really serious aspect of these events lies in the evidence of another intelligence failure. The UN forces were completely surprised. It is not difficult in a country such as Korea, with a homogeneous population, for both sides to place informers or spies with the other and to keep informed minutely.

The big question now is whether the Chinese armies in Manchuria, numbering according to various estimates from 300,000—500,000, will intervene in future operations. There is good reason to believe that this is unlikely. The supply of munitions to such large forces fighting a destructive Western style war is beyond Chinese capability and would seriously strain Soviet communications to the Far East. Nor can such large numbers of troops be used to advantage in Korea. The waist of the Peninsula from Pyongyang to Wonson is about 110 miles wide. A front of this extent, considering the mountainous terrain, can be defended by 10 divisions. UN forces have the equivalent of 16 divisions in Korea. This is adequate for an offensive. On the other hand, the extent of the front will not permit effective use of the Chinese masses from Manchuria even if they could be supplied under UN air attacks and over elementary roads and useless railroads.

The Chinese and North Korean forces are estimated to be 10 or 12 weak divisions. When this is compared to the much stronger United Nations forces the reason why no Chinese offensive is under way can be seen. Mao Tse-tung has saved face by fulfilling his treaty obligations to North Korea. It is possible now that he is ready to bargain and to get as much as he can from the nuisance value of his intervention. The question should be answered shortly.

BETTER LATE THAN GOP

Late election returns in Michigan and New York credit the Democrats with two close and unprecedented victories. Michigan's progressive Gov. G. Mennen Williams appears to have won re-election by a slim 1,152 votes for the first Democratic off-year gubernatorial victory in the state's history, while Ernest Greenwood, the Democratic-Liberal candidate opposing Rep. W. Kingsland Macy of New York, won in a district which usually goes Republican by 50,000 votes.

"Soapy" Williams fought a magnificent campaign in rural down-state areas to defeat a formidable machine candidate Harry Kelly, ex-Governor. Correction of irregularities in the early election count reverse the original announcement of a Kelly victory. Should ailing Sen. Arthur Vandenberg decide to give up his seat, Williams will be in a position to appoint a Democratic successor.

The Democratic capture of the traditionally Republican farm-lands and estates of Eastern Long Island was due more to the repercussions of the notorious "Hanley letter," which had been addressed to Macy, than to any permanent change in the traditional local political pattern. The 126-vote victory of the liberal Greenwood, a former school teacher, is an unexpected and welcome by-product of the successful Dewey purge of an opponent in the Republican organization.

WORLD ECONOMIC AID

Gordon Gray's report to the President confronts the US again with world realities. Rearmament is imposing impossible burdens on Western Europe. Living standards in Asia are below the minimum levels that our own safety requires.

"The Soviet Union," the report states, "is desperately trying to capitalize on the swelling social and economic pressures now dominant throughout the world. The free nations can and must hold the initiative in this area through a positive program aimed at peace and justice and capable of attracting the understanding and support of peoples everywhere. Without such a program military strength may become ineffective in the years to come."

The report calls for continued economic aid to Western Europe, and a great new program for Asia amounting to $600-800 million in loans each year and $500 million in grants. It calls for international collaboration in raw materials, abolition of many restrictions on trade and the concentration of all overseas economic aid in one Government agency.

This in substance is the program that the *New Republic* and internationalist organizations have been crying for for months.

Already it is terribly late. The Marshall Plan is moving into its final year. The invaluable staffs built by ECA in Washington and around the world are beginning to break up. Prices are rising fast in hard-pressed nations.

Prices are also rising in the US. So are taxes and political tempers and hopes of unseating the Administration. Against the reality of a world in need is the conflicting reality of the 82nd Congress.

The 81st Congress chopped the Point Four program to a pittance. What are the chances of a program 60 times as large in the 82nd?

Gray has done a brilliant job in relating rearmament and recovery, and treating the problems of the free world for the first time as a whole. Yet his program is cast in the mold of 1947 which shaped the Marshall Plan. The mold is itself rejected by Senator Taft who calls for a review of the entire foreign picture.

The choice is Nelson Rockefeller's as chairman of the Point Four Advisory Board. Either we need a bold dramatic stroke like Marshall's Harvard speech, or responsible Republicans will have to steer the program quietly through.

In one sense we sympathize with Taft. We argued eight months ago that the US would not continue a program of unilateral aid unrelated to our overall objectives and that the world would not welcome such a program. Since then the Colombo Conference has mapped out a program of collective aid for the Commonwealth, and the British Labour Party has called for a World Program of Mutual Aid. That is the need of 1951. Americans will contribute large sums in foreign aid only if other hard-pressed peoples are also contributing, and if the program is part of an overall plan that foresees victory for the free world.

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TEXAS FARMERS WIN

AUSTIN, TEX. (NR Correspondent)

Almost from the beginning of the New Deal farm program in the 1930s, its opponents have been able to get authoritative statements against it from J. E. McDonald, the crusty old Roosevelt-hating Texas State Commissioner of Agriculture.

In 1940, '44 and '48, McDonald endorsed the various Republican candidates for President and Vice President, on the ground that their farm programs were better than those of Roosevelt and Truman.

Last summer, when the State Democratic Executive Committee was making up the ballot for the Texas Democratic primary, its 62 members voted unanimously to leave McDonald off the primary ballot, on the ground of his "consistent infidelity" to the Party.

McDonald got a Texas Supreme Court order putting his name back on the ballot, but in the second primary he was soundly whipped by a complete unknown, John C. White of Wichita Falls, an Agriculture professor in Midwestern University. White, a 25-year-old redhead, was elected by an overwhelming rural vote protesting McDonald's farm record, and by a statewide revolt of the Democrats who had put Texas into the Roosevelt and Truman column.

This week, Texans were beginning to find out that 18 years after the New Deal started, they have an Agriculture Commissioner who believes in the Federal farm programs.

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

The Driver's Seat

BIGGER AND BETTER PROBES

Red-hunting Republicans, spurred by the success of McCarthyism during the campaign, are planning ways to keep the issue in the headlines until they can get another crack at the Presidency in 1952. Since three former members of the House Un-American Activities Committee—Karl Mundt, Francis Case and Richard Nixon—have graduated to the Senate, the GOP would like to set up a permanent joint committee to look for Red influence in high places.

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) proposed last week that the Senate Judiciary Committee take over investigation of un-American activities as a part of its work. That Committee is headed by Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.), author of the rabid Communist-Control Act and one of the best friends the GOP has in the Democratic Party. Ferguson wants McCarran's subcommittee on immigration to conduct a full-scale investigation of "Communist infiltration into the Government."

Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.), who takes full credit for defeating liberal Democrats in this election, would like to see Communist investigations go to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments of which he is ranking minority member.

Senator Ferguson and Rep. Kenneth Keating (R, N. Y.) have called for an investigation into administration of the new Internal Security Act as soon as Congress returns. In a letter to Secretary of State Acheson, Keating charged that the Department of State has deliberately sought to "undermine" the law. Ferguson has accused the Department of Justice of delaying action on the registration of Communist Party and Communist-front groups. Primary complaint of the Republicans is that law enforcement officers have been too strict in applying the law to Nazis, Fascists and Spanish Falangist parties, as well as to Communists. The Department of State says it "welcomes" such an investigation and declared that it has "conscientiously" administered the law.

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, in a speech before the Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners last week, reported that the new law had greatly added to the Justice Department's responsibilities. "In order to be made more workable," McGrath said, the Act "may require amendatory legislation by the Congress. "The Act became law only after it was passed over the President's veto. It is now, however, one of the laws of the land, and as such I shall enforce it and do my best to make it work and to achieve the Congressional purpose in passing it."

CONTROLS TO COME

With the election over, Washington officials are strongly hinting that the control and allocation powers of the Defense Production Act are now finally to be put to use. Economic Stabilization Director Alan Valentine told the New York Economics Club last week "we shall soon know" if direct price and wage controls are needed. At the same time a high official of the National Production Authority declared that a "complete allocation of key materials from producer to consumer will be in effect by next July."

Valentine said that industry must hold present prices, even if it means absorbing new cost increases, and that labor must not attempt to gain further pay boosts "by drastic means." The implication is that if these restraints are not kept voluntarily, prices, wages and production will soon be brought under Government regulation.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

If the West German men were allowed to hold a plebiscite on the question of forming an army *now*, a majority would vote no. If the women and youths of military age also voted, and if the veterans of all ages went to the polls, the proportion of opposition in the whole electorate might be as high as 70 or even 80 percent.

It is the opinion of most impartial observers who have traveled in West Germany since the Americans made their rearmament proposal at the Waldorf conference in New York that neutralism is at least as strong and widespread in the Bonn state now as it was in France until Korea.

There is in West Germany little of the pacifism, pessimism and defeatism that there was among the French. Unlike the French, most of the West Germans do not believe the Cold War can (or even should) be settled peacefully—by negotiation, compromise or appeasement. They are not defeatist about the result of a Third World War and the effect that such a war—whether or not the West wins—is likely to have on the destiny of their nation. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Germans have the advantage of knowing that they were defeated, fairly and thoroughly, on the field of battle; they can look to the future with some hope. The French who were both defeated and victorious (not on the field of battle) cannot.

When the French offered their original Schuman plan for Western European economic integration on a basis of a Franco-German "core," there was in West Germany almost as much approval as in France. The plan seemed to the Germans a good means of returning to the basis of sovereign national equality. To the French, it seemed a way of controlling a renascent German economic power and of making France the dominant political power in Western Europe.

Now, the new Schuman Plan by which the French would like to hinge the creation of a West German army on the prior making of a Western European army also has been getting some support in West Germany. The new Plan means delay, for it puts unity before rearmament. The French stall for time because they dread the immediate future, the possibility of war with the Soviet Union and the chance of German revival and domination. The Germans stall because they see a chance of staying out of the coming war with Russia, or at least of getting a huge payment for their participation; they look forward with hope to the long-term future.

The German leaders know rearmament is bound to come. Each stalls and objects in one way or another to serve his own purpose. All would like to exploit the price America will have to pay for undoing the effect upon public sentiment of the anti-militarist indoctrination carried out since the Second World War. And the Prague declaration of the Soviet Union and its seven European satellites (including East Germany) was deliberately intended to make the price so high that it would frighten American public sentiment.

The principal German leaders are all nationalists. Chancellor Kurt Adenauer is the orthodox, reactionary nationalist, derived from the Bismarckian rather than the Hitlerian tradition. He has slowed up his advocacy of quick, all-out rearmament because he realizes that he must cajole the opposition in the Bundestag and Bundesrat. His method is to go through the motions of qualified support for some form of the second Schuman Plan.

Kurt Schumacher of the Social Democrats is the Socialist nationalist. He wants to delay rearmament until the new German military forces, operating behind a strong front of many American divisions, can recapture the "lost" territories in the East. The Germans are to remain unarmed and non-belligerent until they have a good chance to fight *for* Germany and on non-German soil.

Pastor Martin Niemoeller is the neutralist nationalist. He is willing to appease the Russians because all German unity is his conception of nationalism; and it is his because the CDU and West Germany, in general, are predominantly Roman Catholic while the strength of Protestantism lies in East Germany. At the opposite extreme from his position are, of course, the Generals—men like Schwerin, Schweppenburd, Speidel, Dittmar, Remer, von Manteuffel. Many of them are opposed to rearmament *now*; most of them impose conditions for rearmament at any time: equality for the new West German army, German units under German commanders up to corps level, Germans on the general staff, a new deal for veterans, the defense line beyond the Elbe, and freeing of von Falkenhausen and von Manstein.

But the up-and-coming force behind German neutralism *now* is the so-called dynamic nationalism of "The Brotherhood," a secret military organization of high-ranking veterans formed in British prisoner-of-war camps in 1945. Its leaders are the former Colonels Franke-Griksch (of an SS Division) and Bech-Broichstetter (of the Gross-Deutschland Division under von Manteuffel).

The professed goals of The Brotherhood are the freedom and brotherhood of Europe, the unity and indivisibility of Germany and the principles of social justice (as first proclaimed by the dissident Nazi Gregor Strasser and put into practice unsuccessfully by Roehm). But the method is to make Germany the strong core of a "new Europe" by extending to other European countries "the German Revolution of 1933."

The Brotherhood believes a German army *now* would be "an obstacle to social progress and European reorganization." This progress, it holds, has nothing to do with the "outworn democratic faith." It depends upon the regrouping of members "by rank and degree, by achievement and worth."

If the French were as clear-headed and as brave as they once were, they might recognize that West German neutralism *now* may present even worse dangers for Western Europe's future than some moderate, careful, practical approach to German rearmament *now*.

PERCY WINNER

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WILL COMMUNISM WIN IN ASIA?

by Michael Straight

THE TRAVELER from India arrives in Hongkong with a sense of liberation and delight. In contrast to the apathy and fatalism of the Indians the Chinese seem vital and purposeful. The women in tiny houseboats and crowded bazaars are always cheerful. The farmers working in black tunics and broad hats in the yellow rice paddies are friendly and full of laughter.

There is poverty everywhere but little squalor. One senses a belief in the greatness of China, a hardening of the moral fiber of the nation, a national ambition beneath the loyalties tapped by failing dynasties, from which a revolutionary movement can draw sustained strength.

In Hongkong, tradition stands unperturbed beside revolution. The territory is indefensible, yet new buildings are made to last a century and more. In their marble halls conservatives carry on a roaring trade according to the new rules laid down by Peking. On the green lawn where Japanese soldiers paraded, the members of the Hongkong Cricket Club once again draw stumps promptly at four for tea.

Thirty miles inland Communist soldiers guard the frontier with loaded rifles. The traveler, staring across at the bare mountains, must remember that Hongkong is not China, and that it offers no clue to China except for the vitality of the Cantonese. Refugees flood back and forth across the frontier, journalists pass in and out, seamen bring back stories from every port of call, traders keep open lines of information. From these people the traveler can gather the scattered pieces of a missing picture. It must be fragmentary. It is often contradictory. The traveler cannot analyze it, interpret it or even assess it. He can only pass it on for what it is worth.

This is one such account.

The Communist Party is in full power in China today. It is strong in North and Central China. In South China a traditional spirit of revolt against central authority has been aroused by the roughshod rule of Communists from the North. Yet no organized opposition confronts the Communists as they once confronted the Kuomintang. By ripping up the railroads they were able to isolate the Nationalist Government. Today for all the guerrilla bands, the railroads are operating again.

Communications have been restored, inflation has been checked. Yet the Communist Party shares power with no other group. It has recruited a new class of officials without surrendering to them any real authority. It rules through a coalition. But the notion, spread by Indian diplomats, that the coalition is a representative government in which non-Communists participate in major decisions is absurd. All key positions and check points are held by Communist Party members. All key decisions are made by Communists alone.

In Eastern and Central Europe, the Communist parties themselves were diluted, after they seized power, by the admission of socialists and opportunists. In contrast the Chinese Communist Party has held down its membership. Chinese Communists returning from South Asia have been kept in subordinate jobs. Students returning from America bursting with enthusiasm for the new regime have been sent out to the fields to learn true values through hard manual work.

The authority of the Chinese Communist Party is threatened chiefly by the Russians who are scattered through China, lengthening airstrips, building naval bases, surveying strategic resources and carrying off grain. But the Russians, who learned their lesson in 1927, live in barracks, wear civilian clothes and keep out of sight. They are not yet forcing a split in the Chinese Communist Party. A division exists on the rate of development toward Communism that can be enforced in China, and some purges are inevitable. But no body of men who have suffered together for 20 years as the Chinese Communists have suffered is likely to break up overnight.

In classical style, the Government is moving China in stages toward a Communist state. Private enterprise and peasant proprietorship are supported as they were supported in Russia in the days of the NEP; at the same time the framework of a Communist society is being established.

In industry and trade the State sets prices, determines profits, allocates raw materials and runs the railways and textile plants which the Kuomintang took over from the Japanese. Cooperatives of all kinds are being organized to serve as bridges between small producers and the State purchasing monopolies. Sixteen Government corporations direct production and encourage new investment. Their funds are held in People's Banks similar to banks in the USSR. As new managers are trained the Government will move further toward ownership and operation of all industry.

In agriculture, the people are divided into five classes: The landlords, "who own the land, who do little or no labor and who rely on exploitation for a living"; the rich farmers, who "generally own their land and exploit

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hired labor"; the middle-class peasants who depend on the labor of others; the independent peasants and the farm laborers. The last two groups are being organized in Poor Peasants Leagues to carry through an agrarian revolution.

The first stage of this revolution is the rent reduction and refund campaign. In theory it acknowledges the rights and functions of the landlords. In practice it leads to land distribution. Rent refunds leave the landlords insolvent. And after public trials where peasants are encouraged to accuse landlords of stealing livestock and grain, the landlords are lucky to escape with only the loss of their land.

Land distribution has been carried out in the Old Liberated Areas of North China which the Communists held before the 1948 sweep. It is now in operation in the new areas of Central and South China. Its completion is set for 1953. At the same time the Government is pressing ahead with the next stage of the agrarian revolution, the organization of Public and State Farms. Two State Farms have been organized in North China with 16 tractors and eight combine harvesters apiece. Thirteen State Farms have been established in other provinces. In Manchuria in addition to the State Farms (the sovkhoz), each country and province has one Public Farm (the kolkhoz). As Communist power is consolidated and managers are trained, collective farming will be extended through all China. Meanwhile individual peasant proprietors are being organized in Labor and Mutual Aid Associations to develop a collective spirit.

Lastly the Chinese Communists are moving into the realms of thought control and the secret police.

In public meetings citizens confess their errors and suffer compulsory indoctrination. The press and radio are declared to be "weapons in the class struggle" and report world developments through the eyes of Tass. The universities teach Soviet genetics and biology. In the middle schools, where the main effort is being made, all teachers attend re-orientation courses; textbooks are completely revised; students are taught that Russians invented electricity and the radio.

Young children are taught by special games and charades, new songs, folk tales bent to the Soviet line and well-printed comic books that tell the story of how Timur and his gang caught the American spy and all the wonderful things that the soldiers of the Peoples Liberation Army do when they come to a Chinese village.

The Secret Police is less ruthless and cruel than that of the Kuomintang—and more effective. Spies listen in the bazaars, children are taught to report on their parents, violating China's most sacred values. It is hard to believe that the Russians can be restrained for long from imposing on China their own hellish system in which each agent informs, not only on the people but on his fellow spies, and each acts as an agent provocateur, provoking unrest in order to punish it.

The Chinese Communists have not yet abused the power they have gained. They are not corrupted by cynicism and love of force as the Stalinists of Eastern Europe and Russia. They are wholly unlike the puppet rulers of North Korea who accept torture as a matter of course. Mao Tse Tung, whose entire family was executed by Chiang Kai-shek, is said to bring to Communist dictatorship the tradition of a scholar and a poet, and the conviction that because society is to blame for human corruption, no man is beyond redemption.

The Taiping and Boxer rebellions were marked by violence. The Nationalists shot scores of "foreign devils" when they took power. In contrast Mao insists that the Chinese must distinguish between Americans and their Government. The last picture in the comic book shows the fattened landlord finding happiness at last in tilling the good earth beside his former slave.

This Moral Rearmament approach with its kindness, unheard of in Chinese officialdom, is seen in Hongkong as a key to Communist success.

How long can it last?

The Communists are faced by the same disillusionment that weakens the free nations of Asia. They too promised a new age of plenty following victory, and they too are presiding over falling standards-of-living. The new age of plenty is now postponed for five years. But the Chinese are like the citizens of Missouri who need to be shown results.

Workers are embittered over lower real wages. They did well under the labor bosses of the Kuomintang. When the Communists won they struck for greatly increased wages. Industry was threatened and the Communists enforced wage cuts, first in Government enterprises, then in privately-owned factories and mills. To increase productivity the Government has enforced speed-ups, lowering base rates, raising norms and promoting stakhanovism, while reducing food rations. In a nation where tuberculosis and consumption ravage weakened bodies, there are limits beyond which workers cannot be pressed.

Farmers are also embittered over rising taxes and falling prices. Taxes may be no higher than in the days of the Kuomintang, but they are fully collected and supplemented by forced subscriptions to victory bonds. Farmers who always withheld some grain throughout the year have been compelled to market their reserves, forcing prices down. This year crops are good but 20 percent will go to the Government.

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Soldiers are also restless. They were promised demobilization after victory but they must be kept in service, partly because of military needs, partly because there is no available land and no new industry to absorb the five million men now under arms. The cost of maintaining the army takes close to half the Chinese national budget. But demobilized soldiers in China have a way of becoming bandits and guerrilla fighters after months of idleness and discontent.

The landlords, of course, suffer the most. Most of them are hard working farmers, and the break-up of their holdings is likely to lower production. Yet the Communists must break the power of the landlords for political rather than economic reasons. Instead of dying peacefully, the desperate landlords are burning their warehouses, slaughtering their livestock, destroying their crops and fleeing to join guerrilla bands in the hills.

There are still other factors working against the Communist regime. It has challenged the secret societies which for centuries have been the real rulers of village life in settling disputes and maintaining order. It has attacked the tradition of filial piety which has been the root of corruption and incompetance in China but also a source of stability. In these ways it has created many enemies, ready to strike back when garrisons are transferred to far off battlefronts.

In addition the Communists face the technical difficulties that contributed to the fall of the Kuomintang. Turbines, generators, looms and locomotives are wearing out. The trucks that move troops and goods in the regions between the railway lines lack replacements and spares and new tires. An American tire salesman who arrived unannounced at sunrise in Hongkong on my plane was visited the same morning by three purchasing agents for the Communists who offered $200 apiece for standard tires; a tribute to the competence of the Communist regime and a sign of its hard times. As fighting develops on the Korean front these hardships are bound to increase.

As tensions rise the strands that tie the Communist bureaucracy to tolerance are likely to break. The Government is stirring up a campaign of bitter hatred against the United States. Soon the provincial governor committed to deliver more grain, the army commander ordered to produce what the Russians call "unanimous volunteering" for the Korean war, the police official responsible for suppressing rumors and riots are certain to turn to force and fear. Until now, Chinese who threw a blanket over their radios and listened to the Voice of America had nothing more to fear than hours of argument with an official. Now they face arrest and months of labor in a re-orientation camp as "backward elements." Spreading defeatist rumors becomes a serious crime. The New China News Agency reports that 50 percent of the landlords are sabotaging the land reform program and points out that under a new law landlords who organize resistance to the program and destroy livestock and grain may be shot.

So the Chinese Communists may be driven down the Moscow road of ever-increasing terror and violence by the inescapable problems of Asia and the inexorable laws of development of the police state.

These are the impressions of trained observers in Hongkong concerning developments in China. If they are accurate what will be the effect of these developments on the Communist potential throughout Asia? Probably very little.

Accounts of oppression in Russia arouse little concern in Asia. The atrocities of Ho Chi Minh and the North Koreans are regarded more favorably than B-29 saturation raids. The Indian member of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, we should remember, absolved Japan from all charges of aggression on the ground that her belligerence was an inevitable reaction to Western imperialism. Today, Asian Communism, for all its excesses, may seem no more alien than a form of capitalist democracy transplanted from the West. Asians, with little experience of democracy will not be revolted by increased oppression in China. They are more concerned with China's ability to achieve its economic and social objectives. They will be aroused only by Communist aggression against the free nations of Asia.

So far we have been lucky. Thanks to the stupidity of Moscow and its insistence on slavish subordination to Russia's national interest, the Communist parties of free Asia have battered themselves into bloodiness against the powerful national movements. They were hurled against the independence movements during the war. They tried to destroy the leaders who liberated Asia. In the chaos that followed liberation they ruined their chances when Zhdanov called for terror and violence in 1948. Strikes, sabotage and assassinations were launched in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Burma and Malaya were thrown into Civil war. The new Government of Indonesia was attacked at the height of its struggle against Dutch rule.

And yet Communism is gaining in Indo China. It is strong in Ceylon. It is growing in Pakistan where Soviet pressures are increasing and the Right is successfully resisting new reforms. Thailand and Malaya are almost indefensible if Indo China falls. Beyond Singapore revolt is still simmering in the scattered islands of In-

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donesia. In India the Communists were able to take effective control of Hyderabad, a state the size of Massachusetts. It has taken two full army divisions, shooting Communists on sight for the past two years to prevent Hyderabad from becoming the Yenan of India.

The chief strength of Communism in China was its early creation of an army of its own. The lack of Communist armies has been a critical weakness in non-Communist Asia. Moscow now recognizes this. The Cominform states that the path taken by the Chinese people is the path for all Asia to follow. The creation of Communist armies has not been easy. But now the Communists hold frontiers in common with the majority of Asian nations, across which arms can be shipped. The emerging frontier between Communist China and India in Tibet is critical and weakly held. Across the frontier is the feudal state of Nepal, the unsettled state of East Pakistan, the isolated province of Assam where Indian Communists are certain to concentrate their forces. As in Europe, if the free nations of Asia see no prospect of maintaining their independence, the imminence of Communist power may encourage appeasement and sympathy for Communism rather than resistance and the determination to make democracy work.

BIGOTRY IN BARTLESVILLE

by Jean Begeman

Early this year a group of self-appointed patriots in the small oil-rich town of Bartlesville, Oklahoma, noted that copies of the *New Republic, The Nation* and *Soviet Russia Today* could be found on the shelves of the Bartlesville library. They moved into action against 59-year-old Ruth Brown, town librarian for 31 years. At a meeting of the City Commission, a newly-formed "Citizens' Committee" made its report: *The Nation* and the *New Republic* had long been "peddling the prattle" of the Communists, and the presence of these magazines and *Soviet Russia Today* was an opening wedge to "a fifth-column invasion of the library." Later, the committee added the *Negro Digest* and *Consumers' Research* to the list of offending publications and recommended that Miss Brown be fired.

The City Commission began its investigation of the matter by removing the files of these magazines from the library to study their contents. At the same time, it turned its attention to the 1920 public-library ordinance which gave misconduct and neglect of duty as the only grounds for dismissal of a librarian. On June 14, the City Commission repealed the 1920 ordinance. By the terms of a new library ordinance, the City Commission assumed full control of the library, with the provision that library employees could now be fired without any statement of cause. On July 10 the Commission dismissed the old library board, and appointed a new one. On July 25, an hour after she had appeared before an executive session of the Commission, Miss Brown was notified that she had been fired.

Bartlesville began to choose up sides. To many citizens, Miss Brown had been as much a local institution as the library. One of the most prosperous towns in Oklahoma, Bartlesville is the capital of the Phillips and Cities Service oil interests and many of the people of the town are college-trained executives, administrators, geologists and engineers. As the oil companies grew, the town and library grew with them. No objection had been made to Miss Brown or the publications on her library shelves until she had participated in group discussions on race relations.

About 900 of the 19,000 citizens of Bartlesville are Negroes. The local YWCA sponsored a few inter-racial projects. When a faction of members demanded that all inter-racial activities be discontinued, the YWCA board called for a vote on the question, and members, 2 to 1, upheld the projects. In February the same faction attempted to stop the use of Community Chest funds for the library and asked for dismissal of Miss Brown because of her participation in the discussions on race relations. When this failed, the attack on the contents of the library began.

When Miss Brown appeared before the private meeting of the City Commission, it was apparent that the magazines were only a secondary complaint. Commissioner W. A. Forrest said: "We know your attitude on race relations. It may be according to the Bible and the Constitution, but it is not according to the wishes of the majority of the people of Bartlesville." Miss Brown agreed to answer any questions about the operation of the library orally, but asked the Commissioners to submit any questions on her personal views such as her attitude toward the Negro race in writing, to be answered in writing since there was no stenographer at the meeting to record the interrogation. "We considered that insubordination," Mayor E. S. Dunaway says. Miss Brown was promptly fired.

About 150 supporters of Miss Brown attended the next meeting of the Commissioners, on August 7. Mayor Dunaway said, "We expected a large crowd, and I had policemen with tear gas bombs at the dance hall where

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the meeting was held in case there was trouble." The group simply asked the Mayor why Miss Brown had been fired. He denied that it was because of her racial views or her choice of the magazines for circulation and repeated his charge of "insubordination."

By September the rest of Oklahoma was taking a serious interest in the case of Miss Brown. Her friends filed suit to have the new library ordinance declared void as in conflict with state laws. The conservative Tulsa *Tribune* raised its voice:

> We can't pass on the legal technicalities, but it does appear that from a common-sense point-of-view the Bartlesville vigilantes have gotten pretty far out of line. . . . *The Nation* and the *New Republic* are left-wing magazines . . . but they are not Communist publications. . . . However screwy their socialist theories may be . . . their articles are often stimulating and brilliantly written. . . . *Soviet Russia Today* is in a different category. It is a propaganda magazine . . . to demonstrate by type and pictures that life is Heaven under Communist dictatorship. . . . Few Americans with a reading discernment above fourth grade are likely to be taken in. . . .
>
> If a library is to be worthy of the name it must include some publications that do not reflect the general opinion of the community. Every library should have a copy of the Koran, although few Oklahomans believe that Mohammed is God's only true prophet. Cotton Mather believed in witchcraft, Nietzsche in the Hitlerian concept of the Superman, Bertram Russell in free love—none of which is in line with the majority thinking in Bartlesville or any other American city. . . .
>
> Let's hope that Bartlesville keeps a library that is not limited to books and periodicals "approved" by patriotic groups, however sincere they may be. After all, if a library that contained all points-of-view tended to make Communists there would be at least one such library behind the Iron Curtain. . . .

Last week District Judge Jess Miracle of Okemah, Oklahoma, sustained the dismissal action of the City Commissioners. Miss Brown's attorney, Thurman Hurst of Tulsa, argued that operation of a city library, just as the operation of schools, is a matter of state-wide public interest. However, Judge Miracle upheld the view of Bartlesville City Attorney Alton Rowland that operation of the city library is a matter of purely municipal concern and therefore not subject to court review. Miss Brown's attorney has asked for a new trial and has announced that if it is not granted he will appeal to the State Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, the circulation department of the *New Republic* has received notice to cancel the subscription of the Bartlesville library. However Mrs. Lloyd Lynd, vice chairman of the new library board, states that the library is securing copies from the local newsstand.

But if you want to see a copy of *NR* in Bartlesville, you won't find it in the public reading room any more. Ask the new acting librarian, Virginia Lasley, to get it for you from the shelves behind the librarian's desk. If she thinks it wise, she'll get it for you. The new library board has instructed Miss Lasley to make copies of the controversial magazines available to readers at her own "discretion."

THE MID-TERM PARADOX

by Gus Tyler

IN THE Congressional elections of 1950, the Democratic Party lost 28 seats in the House and 5 seats in the Senate.

Does this mean that American public opinion has veered to the "right"?

If the loss of these seats is proof that the country has turned its back on liberalism, then it must be added that this year the repudiation of New Dealism was far less marked than in previous *mid-term* elections such as 1946, 1942, 1938. Actually, there is reason to believe that the country stands basically behind the policies of the White House when the Administration loses only 28 seats in the House in a mid-term election.

This election year cannot be compared with 1948—or with any other year when the voters are choosing a President of the United States. It must be compared with 1946, '42 and '38, when a smaller number of voters go to the polls than in Presidential election years.

In 1938, the Democrats lost 71 seats in the House and 6 seats in the Senate; in 1942, 45 seats in the House and 9 seats in the Senate; in 1946, 55 seats in the House and 12 in the Senate. The average loss of seats by the Democratic Party in the last three mid-term elections, has been 57 House and 9 Senate seats. Democratic Party losses this year are less than any previous mid-term election since 1938 and are only half the average loss in the last three mid-term tests. What is unusual about the 1950 election is NOT the loss of seats by the Democratic Party but that the Democrats have lost so *few* seats this year.

In 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948—all Presidential years—the Democrats gained seats in Congress. Judging by newspaper headlines that alternately announce the demise of either the Republican or Democratic Party, one must simply conclude that America changes its mind every two years. A more acceptable explanation of the

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biennial political cycle lies in the varying size of the total vote cast.

In 1936 (Presidential year) the total vote cast for Congressmen was 43 million; in 1938 (mid-term) it fell to 36 million. In 1940 (Presidential) the total was 46 million; in 1942 it fell to 28 million. In 1944, the vote was 45 million; in 1946, it fell to 34 million. In 1948, it was 46 million; in 1950, it fell to 40 million. There are usually some 10 million American voters who come out in Presidential years but stay home for the mid-term election. These 10 million are the weight in the political pendulum. When they vote, the Democrats gain seats; when they don't vote, the Republicans gain.

Who are these quadrennial voters who require the glamour of a Presidential contest to entice them to the polls? Thanks to a recent survey, based on the 1948 elections, conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan we have some idea as to which income groups are the most delinquent voters. Of those earning less than $1,000 a year, only 35% voted; of those earning between $1,000 and $2,000 a year, 54% voted; of those earning between $2,000 and $3,000 a year, 61% voted; of those earning between $3,000 and $4,000 a year, 74% voted; of those earning between $4,000 and $5,000 a year, 77% voted; of those earning $5,000 and more a year, 82% voted. It is reasonable to conclude from this that most of the 10 million regular voters who absent themselves in mid-term elections are from the lower income groups. And in our generation these lower income groups represent the backbone of the Democratic vote.

This "class" factor is not the only force militating against the Administration power in a mid-term election. Even when Republicans were in the White House their party lost seats in the mid-term elections: in 1922 under Harding; in 1926 under Coolidge; in 1930 under Hoover. Apparently, the contented elements who like the status quo tend to acquiesce in absentia while the disgruntled are goaded to the polls to register a protest. This normal tendency—running well over a generation—for the Administration party to lose seats in Congress in the mid-term election has been accentuated by the character of the forces behind the New and Fair Deals.

The most consistent explanation of the election results this year, against the background of Congressional elections in this era, is to *credit the large vote* this year *for cutting Democratic losses* to 28 seats as against the average loss of 57.

"Why were the Democrats expecting such victories this year, then?" it is asked.

In part, it is due to the tendency of the major parties to use the previous election as a prophecy of the present. In 1938, FDR—assuming '38 would be another '36—set out to cleanse his party: he was wrong! In 1948, Dewey—assuming '48 would be another '46—packed his suitcases for Washington: he was wrong. In 1950, many Democrats—assuming 1950 was 1948—predicted victory: they were wrong.

They were also misled by the huge registration figures rolled up by organized labor. In a number of key states, *registration* in 1950 *topped* all years, including Presidential. Basing their predictions on the registration, Democrats expected a "Presidential size" vote—and hence victory.

The disparity between registration and final vote was due to the mechanics of labor politics. In states having permanent registration and a long period (several months) for registering voters, trade unions can do and have done superb jobs of registering their members. Labor still does not have equally good machinery to get out the vote on election day.

The foregoing is not to deny that conservatism did gain seats in the next Congress: it did! But if this is the best the GOP can do in a mid-term election then it has a tough row to hoe from here to '52.

The lesson for the liberal elements—Democrats, please note!—aside from the need for a big vote in 1952 lies in a study of the points where the Republican tide broke through.

The election of Taft, the defeat of Senate Majority Leader Lucas and of Tydings in a solid Democratic state have become symbols. But as evidence of the way in which the country as a whole is turning, they do not serve as scientific measures when viewed against the total national result. There are other symbols to consider, such as the re-election of Brien MacMahon and William Benton (first Democrats elected Senators in mid-term Connecticut elections since 1934); the election of Hennings in Missouri over Donnell; the re-election of Williams in Michigan (the Democrats narrowly won back the state in '48 after 12 years as an uninterrupted minority party); the re-election of Lehman in New York (he was badly beaten by Ives in 1946); the re-election of Democratic congressional delegations in toto, including marginal districts, in Massachusetts and New Jersey.

Each of these separate campaigns has a lesson to teach on the need for strong candidates, good issues, hard work. Cancelling out personalities and propaganda: The Democratic Party, true to its mid-term election past, lost seats—but fewer than in any other mid-term election, largely because the total vote was higher than usual in off-years.

Apparently, a big vote is still a good vote for the Democrats in Federal elections . . . especially when their candidates are somebodies who stand for something!

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Farley to McCarran to Franco*

THE UNITED STATES has been continually inconsistent with respect to Franco, the Spanish Dictator. If we blow hot one day, we can be depended upon to blow cold the next. There have been times when we have pretended that we wanted to have nothing to do with Franco while encouraging other members of the UN to line up with him. Some months ago, Secretary Acheson denounced the Franco regime as "Fascist." This was a truthfully descriptive designation, and yet there was no more freedom of speech, of assembly or of religion when we voted in the General Assembly to lift the ban against full diplomatic relations with Franco than when Mr. Acheson spoke so truly. Encouraged as they are, there can be no doubt that Franco and his American lobbyists, both voluntary and paid, will continue to press for an exchange of ambassadors, for full admittance to the United Nations and for a gift from the Treasury which will euphemistically be called a "loan."

One trouble is that every pro-Franco American from Coca-Cola Salesman, James A. Farley, to the inestimable Sen. Pat McCarran has considered that he not only has the ability but the right to settle the Franco question. Even certain brass hats have taken unto themselves final diplomatic power with respect to Franco. Adm. Richard L. Conolly in September, 1949, steamed into the port of El Ferrol with American warships to exchange salutes with the Spanish Navy. Then he and other high-ranking officers went to nearby Coruna to spend an hour with the Spanish Dictator at his summer home. The President has said that this striking gesture had "no political significance." This could hardly be the conclusion of police-ridden Spaniards, who live in grinding poverty. Certainly, it must have had political significance also for France, Belgium, Great Britain and other Western democracies.

For the past two and a half years, I have called the attention of the State Department to the presence here of Jose de Lequerica. With the rank of ambassador, he has never been accredited to the US. A Fascist himself, he has not registered as a foreign agent. He comes and goes at will, thumbing his nose at American officials who seem to enjoy being made monkeys by this America-hating lackey of Franco's.

Now that the vicious McCarran anti-subversive law has been passed, some good might be squeezed from it. The Department of Justice should take note of this man who clearly, under this law, has no right to be in this country. The McCarran Act, bad as it is, is the law and should be enforced. Probably, few would venture to deny that Franco's is the Fascist regime that Acheson has denominated it, or that Spain is a police state.

De Lequerica has the title of "Inspector of Embassies." He has been "inspecting" the Spanish Embassy here for two and a half years. He has also been doing all the mischief that he could to the disadvantage of the United States and its institutions. He came to Washington with the hate of us in his heart that he had already displayed in Vichy as the Spanish Ambassador there. Such men as Senator Brewster of Maine and the unspeakable Pat McCarran of Nevada may do him honor but they also discredit themselves. Senor Propper may be Charge d'Affaires in name, but de Lequerica is ambassador in fact and is so regarded by members of the Spanish Embassy staff. A proper designation of him would be "Franco's Sneak Ambassador."

I have said, and I say again, that de Lequerica is a Fascist, as well as a man who hates America. He was Franco's Ambassador to France during the dishonorable days of Vichy. There he was on close terms with Hitler's intelligence service, while Franco was servicing Nazi submarines. After Japan had struck its dastardly blow at Pearl Harbor, de Lequerica ostentatiously gave a dinner to Japanese and Nazi guests to celebrate the event. The disaster at Pearl Harbor, to him, was an augury of final American defeat. He did not attempt to dissimulate his joy at the death of Americans.

When de Lequerica's Nazi friends were driven from France, he returned to Madrid and, along with him, his fellow Fascist, Senor Propper. Later, Franco proffered Propper to Paris as Counsellor. France indignantly rejected him, whereupon Propper was sent to Washington to serve as Charge d'Affaires with the rank of Minister.

What was not good enough for France is apparently more than good enough for America. The State Department may have had some justification for permitting these two men to remain in Washington before McCarran, one of Franco's most obsequious admirers, passed his "I Am Afraid" law over President Truman's veto. But now, if American officials who have sworn to obey the law, apply the McCarran law to these two birds of an ominous feather, Fascists de Lequerica and Propper, will be handed their passports forthwith. Their contaminating presence here befouls the air. Our self-respect will be in pledge to our subservience to Fascist Franco until de Lequerica and Propper are sent home.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND BANKER WISDOM

THE BIG FRATERNITY

by David Fellman

THIS IS an important book about an important subject: the failure of the American decartelization policy for occupied Germany. Some Congressional committee now anxiously looking into the question of whether the wife of some minor bureaucrat was not seen talking, ten years ago, to a woman whose husband had a second cousin who once took the Soviet Ambassador's dog for an airing could very well make an additional contribution to the public welfare by looking into what has happened to trust-busting in Germany. And it might very well call as its first witness the author of this book, for it is obvious that Mr. Martin is a highly credible witness. Nothing he has to say seems to be incompetent, irrelevant or immaterial. On the contrary, his testimony is very relevant and material, not only with regard to the future capacity of the German economy for mischief, but also in connection with important aspects of the cartelists' fraternity brothers in the upper reaches of US big business.

ALL HONORABLE MEN, by James Stewart Martin (Little, Brown; $3.50).

Mr. Martin's credentials are excellent. A young man, he has had an extraordinarily varied and interesting career. He is a lawyer, now practising in Washington. For a time before the war he taught at St. John's College. In 1942 he entered the public service as a special assistant to the Attorney General in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. During most of the war period he served as assistant chief and later as chief of the Economic Warfare Section of the Department. During much of 1945 he was in the finance branch of SHAEF, and late that year became Director of the Division for Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the Office of Military Government for Germany. Following a reorganization he was appointed chief of the Decartelization Section in the Economics Division of OMGUS, a position he held until his resignation in July, 1947.

Mr. Martin is obviously suffering from a serious case of frustration. In this forthright book he gives names and dates, and some shiny reputations acquire a bit of tarnish from his version of the story. One cannot say that this book is mellow, but on the whole the author presents the main facts dispassionately and in chronological array, leaving it to the reader to draw the inferences. But there is never any doubt about his position, and in the closing chapter the flame of our anti-monopoly tradition does more than merely flicker. In short, Mr. Martin is a worried and angry man who was elbowed and hemmed in and stymied by a group of purposeful men who knew their stuff.

What angers him is the refusal of the top administrators in military government during the proconsulship of General Clay to carry out the specific instructions of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman for the breakup of Germany's huge financial and industrial combines, at least those within our reach in the American zone. The official and oft-repeated position of the policy-making officials in Washington was that the domination of the German economy, especially finance and heavy industry, by a handful of businessmen, must be ended. This group had much to do with bringing Hitler to power; it organized and managed the production which sustained the Nazi war machine and fattened on its conquests; and if left to its own devices, it will seek to dominate Europe once more, with excellent prospects for success.

According to Mr. Martin's detailed account, the influential officials in mili-

(Continued on page 18)

FOUR-STAR OPTIMIST

by Albert Z. Carr

THERE IS a delicate irony in the fact that this bland little book comprises the Edward Lawrence Godkin Lectures for 1950 delivered by General Clay at Harvard University; for Godkin, as editor of the *Nation,* was noted for probing critical insights of a kind markedly absent from Clay's selective account of postwar German history. Clay seems to have passed his thoughts through a filter, screening out the unpleasant realities of German political and economic life, and permitting only the good news to reach the eyes of the reader. The book neatly summarizes the evolution of our policy in Germany, but gives no hint that administrative action taken there under Clay's regime made possible the revival of Germany's industrial cartels, brought Nazis back to key posts in industry and government, and helped give control of the West German state to right-wing parties which pay no more than lip-service to democratic ideals.

GERMANY AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, by General Lucius D. Clay (Harvard University Press; $2).

Clay is optimistic about the dependability of Germany as a member of the Western European alliance. He says:

> There are those who argue that a recovered Germany will look eastward rather than westward, particularly if the German people believe that they can be united more quickly with eastern support. This is a risk which we must take. It seems to me that it is not truly a great risk.

Nevertheless, when it comes to immediate German rearmament he is cautious, and prefers to postpone the revival of Germany's military power until West Germany is somehow brought "within the framework of Western Europe."

Implicit in this book, as in Clay's ear-

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lier, full-dress apologia, *Decision in Germany,* is his conviction that the major policy decisions which he made have been uniformly justified by subsequent events. It is no reflection on his sincerity and conscientiousness as an administrator to doubt that all is now for the best in the best of all possible Germanys. The reader can hardly help wondering whether the revival of the cartels and the acceptance of Nazis do not constitute a potential menace to the peace and security of the Western world —a menace which in another decade may transcend even the Soviet threat. On this question, Clay is silent.

Albert Z. Carr is the author of the recently published "Truman, Stalin, and Peace."

(Continued from page 17)

tary government gave public lip-service to the announced objectives of the Administration, while at the same time they sabotaged the program at every step. For one thing, the vice-presidents of the large investment banks and big industries who held the key spots didn't believe in trust-busting for German business, partly because they weren't enthusiastic about it in their native habitat, and partly because they felt that reform would stand in the way of recovery and delay getting Germany "off the backs of the American taxpayers." Furthermore, the German monopolists had many important and intimate connections with American big business, some representatives of which were in a position to drag their feet within the administrative structure itself. The German cartelists and their American allies are not portrayed as evil or criminal; they are "all honorable men" who simply believe that the business of business is business.

The net result, says Mr. Martin, is that the reorganization of the German economy has been delayed, and that the old leaders of the big combines are still running the show. The dictator and his bully boys go, but the cartelists remain. He believes that "military government could have carried out the directives approved by two presidents and set out in black and white in official documents. Instead, it chose the limited objectives of quick economic recovery and winning the support of German industrialists, at the expense of not carrying out the reforms which were the only immediate justification for the occupation in the first place." His moral is not that Germany is an inevitable menace, but that there are forces in the US that can not only make Germany a menace but also create a menace of their own at home.

This has been the subject of several investigations by Congressional committees. Let's have another one!

David Fellman is professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin.

ECSTASY AND ORDER

THE EASY WAY, by Kay Cicellis. With a foreword by V. Sackville-West (Scribner's; $2.50).

CAST A COLD EYE, by Mary McCarthy (Harcourt, Brace; $2.75).

MISS SACKVILLE-WEST, in her introduction to Kay Cicellis' ten stories, *The Easy Way,* emphasizes the fact that they are written in English by a young woman, born in France of Greek parents, who has never lived among English-speaking people. It is difficult, she says, to judge a talent which, though functioning in English, is yet based on a "foreign" temperament; and she also speaks of the difficulty of seeing beyond precocity to a future career. Miss Cicellis is twenty-three, and, no matter what language she chooses, is now, and will always be, a writer whose work is based on sensibility.

This sensibility is at the stage of youthful intensity and abundance which often prohibits reality from breaking in, except at a few points; and then only at the expense of being almost overwhelmed by the tide of mood, revery, conscious and unconscious allegory, and wave after wave of emotion. Human beings, in this situation, can be dealt with only as slightly defined symbols. Their actions are slowed up; they move like people in dreams or under the power of obsessions; they are subject to reasonless changes of mood often spun out at too great length to hold the attention of the restless and comparatively disabused mature reader. Miss Cicellis has a single pattern for lovers, for example—one of turmoil and of the obstinate domination of one partner by the other. She has, on the other hand, an interest in character which partially saves her from monotony, and a sense of sympathy that makes this interest felt. If her response to "nature"—to the sea, the brilliant morning, the storm, the trees and rocky places—amounts at moments to ecstasy, she is never swept off her feet; she remains the writer, rendering the experience with sensual exactness. It is this tenacious clinging to the real which keeps her from a truly tiresome "poetization" of the world about her. And for the reader to be plunged into a sort of youthful Orphic response to existence is often an exciting experience.

Miss McCarthy, whose first collection of short stories now appears, is the exact opposite of Miss Cicellis in every discernible way. The fact that her mind works logically by habit shows up in her style, which itself is a rare modern example of the fine results obtained when a writing talent is early exposed to a classical education. She can manage a trope with ease; her lightly formal vocabularly allows for degrees of wit; and she can swing a periodic sentence to a telling close. She is also a skeptic, if not by nature, by training; and she is more attached to the pleasures of method than to those of belief. It is the basic situation which interests her, not a secondary envelope of atmosphere. With this equipment, her successes are naturally those of satire.

The trouble is that as a satirist she is never quite thorough or relentless enough; she often stops at the moment of "scoring off," instead of making a final plunge into regions where the true roots of the matter are exposed. The bitter childhood memories, so well mastered; the analysis of the two gruesomely denatured Americans and of the European "guide" in "The Cicerone" (whose motives, equally frivolous, come to be transferably low); the picture of the neurotic marriage in "The Weeds" —these are so well done that one wonders why Miss McCarthy is not at present engaged in producing something which would approach a modern equivalent of Jane Austen's novels. That she cannot

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keep to this level, but is drawn to narrower and more special fields—the fields of Bohemia-Suburbia with its few and shallow impulses, based on fear and curiosity—may be explained by the fact that she has put too strict checks upon herself too soon. The title, borrowed from Yeats's epitaph, part of the later, rather theatrical, pose of an old poet who never cast a cold eye at anything in his life, is not fitting, affixed to the work of a young woman part of whose maturing equipment should be warmth. An emotional factor, by a paradox, must exist even in satire, lest analysis become so neat, and rational judgment so detached, that they shrink to rather mean proportions everything they touch.

LOUISE BOGAN

Louise Bogan, poetry reviewer for "The New Yorker" since 1931, has published four books of poetry.

JUDAISM AND THE JEWS

THE JEWS: THEIR HISTORY, CULTURE, AND RELIGION, edited by Louis Finkelstein (Harper; 2 vols., $12).

THE JEWISH PEOPLE have been dispersed over the world longer than any Western people have existed as a nation. They are the product of this dispersion, just as other peoples are the product of their particular type of autonomous and coherent national existence. To understand Jews as individuals and as a group it is more vital to comprehend the inner nature of their experiences in Palestine and in exile than to know the bare facts of their history.

This volume of 35 essays serves as a corrective to the recent spate of superficial books on Israel and the Jews because a number of its authors recognize the validity of these truisms. It is not complete or without error, but it is the work of scholars whose erudition in both general and specific fields has enabled them to seek their data in original sources and interpret the meaning and value of their discoveries. By focusing their beams on the nooks and crannies where Judaism sought refuge from an antagonistic world and wrought its contributions to Western civilization, they illuminate large areas of Occidental history.

In so far as that was the intention of the editor and his colleagues, the title is a misnomer and the original title, *Judaism and the Jews*—abandoned because of "practical" objections by booksellers—more aptly describes the work. For it is primarily a study of the features, functions and fruits of Judaism; the Jews are considered only incidentally as the destined means of its survival and the chosen medium of its revelation to skeptical mankind.

Thus Cecil Roth, whose magnificent *Short History of the Jewish People* is distinguished by the chapters on the kaleidoscopic history of the Jews in Europe, produces no more than an adequate compendium of that portion of his work. And Arieh Tartakower treats the period 1939-46 without recognizing its spiritual implications and national manifestations or even discussing the changes in the trends of Jewish life since the end of the war.

But the best illustration of this attitude is found in Judah Goldin's chapter, "The Period of the Talmud," which skips lightly over the extermination and flight of more than three-fourths of the Jews in Palestine during the Roman conquest, comments casually on the slavery and starvation of those who remained, notes for the record the destruction of the cities and the disintegration of national life, and zestfully reports on the exegetical activities of the theological seminaries in Palestine and the Diaspora. Rabbi Goldin finds consolation for the catastrophe in the fact that the impoverished folk were relieved of the great economic burden of purchasing beasts for sacrifices, thereby putting an end to this ritual, or that the extirpation of various sects did away with conflicting theological interests, "or, finally, [that] from the agony may have been forced a conception of destiny independent of territory." I doubt that many Jews of that era, or during the past two thousand years, drew much solace from these developments.

Neither the essays on purely secular themes nor the two outstanding chapters in the historical section are subject to this criticism. In a brilliant study of the historical foundations of post-biblical Judaism, Elias J. Bickerman presents the religious and social elements with balance and authenticity. Similarly, in "The Biblical Period," William F. Albright writes as an archeologist, not as a theologian. His remarkable reconstruction of ancient Jewish life reveals all its aspects; it is blurred only by too many cryptic references to sources, a fault due less to defects of style than to limitations of space.

However, the fact remains that this is essentially the story of dead Jews. It is a post-mortem examination of ecdemic experiences and outward manifestations. It contains no serious consideration of anti-Semitism or assimilation, of Zionism or contemporary Palestine, and thus lacks the essential analysis of the instincts and influences, the factors and forces which have molded and are motivating the Jews of today. (It must be noted, however, that the editor calls attention to some of these omissions and promises additional material in future editions.) Even the essay under such an opportune title as "Who Are the Jews?" turns out to be a technical recapitulation of previous studies of cephalic and nasal indices and fraternal variability. Here the great ability and scholarship of Melville J. Herskovits are dedicated to the sterile proposition that in the anthropological sense of that term the Jews are no purer a "race" than, say, the English, Germans or Greeks.

In striking contrast, the chapters on Judaism stress the living and vibrant nature of their themes. Two of these deserve special mention. In "The Bible as a Cultural Monument," Robert Gordis achieves a very high order of literary as well as historical interpretation, and Louis Finkelstein's "The Jewish Religion: Its Beliefs and Practices" is a masterly presentation of esoteric ritual and cosmic concept as a means of communion with God. With painstaking lucidity he shows how and why Judaism has for centuries been a faith to live by and a way of life.

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

Johan J. Smertenko is the author of "Palestine in Revolt"; his biography of the Jewish people, "The Triumphs of David," will be published by Scribner's in 1951.

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BELIEF IN REASON

THE NEW FEDERALISM, by Samuel Seabury (Dutton; $5).

IN TODAY'S inflated markets, dollars have lost the greatest part of their former value. But words have suffered an even severer depreciation, especially the big words—truth, justice, honor.

That the old truths have lost their sovereignty is distressing but not surprising. In a world that is growing ever more dangerous, it is to be expected that men will concentrate on keeping alive, by whatever means, and not concern themselves with remote, probably unknowable, and obviously unrealizable abstractions. The force of moral or ethical rules is further lessened by declining faith in authority, the refusal to accept supernatural or traditional sanctions. "Survival" is the popular watchword.

Samuel Seabury advances another reason for this state of affairs: that the strength of what he calls the "intellectual bond," the rational decision that men ought to deal justly with one another for the sake of a better future, has been weakened by the pressure upon us of the all-encompassing state. If this pressure were eased, men would be freer to develop their individualities—and their moralities. Not that Judge Seabury is wholly or mainly concerned with morality. It is his belief that economic ills and international strife are largely attributable to the concentration of economic power in governments, and to monopoly power—public or private—over natural resources. But his prescription in the areas of both economics and morality is the same; reduce the power of the government and transfer its functions to other agencies.

Not only in countries where governments are obviously obtrusive, but even in the United States and the United Kingdom are we coming to believe—and act—as if all authority and all wisdom resided in the state. The author reminds us that sovereignty and authority reside in the people; he sees in fact a partial opposition between the state, one of the repositories to which authority has been granted by the people, and the people themselves. Seabury would check the trend to state absolutism by strictly limiting the power of the central government, confining its jurisdiction to the area of politics and leaving the control of social and economic affairs to labor unions, businessmen, consumers (organized in consumer cooperatives) and the beneficiaries directly concerned. Thus control and regulation would not be in the hands of a remote and often ignorant organization, but in those of interested and knowledgeable persons. Of course, when interested parties control an economic activity, as did the guilds in the latter Middle Ages, or as do corporations (sometimes abetted by trade unions) nowadays, the results may not be happy for the rest of us.

Judge Seabury is too eloquently silent on the method by which his ideal state can be attained. It may well be that his proposals are anachronistic, that political and economic matters are too closely intermixed to be controlled separately, that modern means of communication have transformed countries into organic communities requiring regulation from the center. But the weakness of Judge Seabury's practical proposals is not very important. At a time when human values are at a discount, it is heartening to come into contact with a man who believes that our problems are amenable to the power of reason, who knows that there is no one right way, but a choice of possibilities for reaching a desired goal, who believes sincerely and passionately that all men should have equal opportunities, who defends the rights of the individual against the state, and who is convinced that men can find within themselves sanctions for dealing fairly and decently with one another. In short, it is a pleasure to meet again a humane, elevated and noble man.

THEODORE NORMAN

Theodore Norman is manager of the Jewish Agricultural Society in New York and co-author of "Economics with Applications to Agriculture."

ON THE AIR: Radio, of All Things

MORE AND MORE of late, radio has been showing an inferiority complex. The networks, busy pouring buckets of gold into TV, have let radio go hang. The newspapers, even in non-TV towns—which means in most of the cities in the country—have been hailing television's glamor. The poor radio men have been growing noticeably melancholic, but now NBC has devised a cure, and they're smiling again.

NBC has started a new Sunday-night program from 6 to 7:30 On the première, one heard Tallulah Bankhead as mistress of ceremonies. She was moved to call someone "darling" exactly 19 times in the first half-hour, and among those so favored were Fred Allen with his Portland; Jimmy Durante; José Ferrer; Ethel Merman, Paul Lukas and Russell Nype from the "Call Me Madam" cast; and Meredith Willson and his orchestra. The program of persiflage, gags, beautiful singing, switcheroos, nostalgia and Schmaltz, plus some smart humor, was put together by a team of writers including Goodman Ace, Welbourn Kelly, Frank Wilson, Mort Green and George Foster. It was paced accurately and held together tightly by the producer-director, Dee Engelbach. This 90 minutes of expert diversion NBC, with unusual modesty and neatness, calls merely "The Big Show."

The network is spending $50,000 a week on the program; it is out to reestablish its competitive position against CBS's Sunday night comedy-variety lineup which features Jack Benny at seven. But NBC is also establishing the fact that radio is still here.

Arturo Toscanini has not yet been talked into coming back to work for NBC this season. Of course, NBC insists that the maestro's shyness has nothing to do with the fact that his hours were re-scheduled or that his favorite Radio City Studio, 8-H, was turned into a television stage. Besides, an NBC executive might complain, why pick on the chain that did bring Toscanini to the air? What about CBS? Hasn't that network's Sunday Philharmonic concert

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taken a kicking-around? Yes, that is so. Our two leading national broadcasters have been competing in radio for the position of being last with the least. But NBC has revived hopes. If it can earmark more than a million dollars for a gala Sunday-night variety program, perhaps it can find a few thousands to strengthen other types of shows. The same goes for CBS, and the rest.

Miss Bankhead was also heard recently on CBS. She spoke briefly and dropped no "darlings." The lady was mad; I forget what about, but it was some political matter. She was a member of the remarkable assemblage brought together by CBS for a "Report to the Nation" on the elections. Edward R. Murrow, who did the narration and participated in the writing, called it "a document for ear." It was a re-enactment by dozens of candidates and their principal adherents across the country. In their own unstaged voices, recorded during the campaign, one heard Ohio's Taft fighting for every vote and California's Warren ripping the pants off Jimmy Roosevelt; there were radio jingles in support of Bill Benton's candidacy in Connecticut and a typically curmudgeonly talk by Harold Ickes campaigning for Lehman, Pecora and Lynch in New York. Maryland's Tydings was there, and California's Nixon. And balancing Tallulah's bluster in Manhattan was June Allyson's blush on behalf of some hopeful in Los Angeles.

Murrow and his co-writer, Fred Friendly, are to be congratulated for an intelligent and enterprising job. I suspect that Friendly, the less famous of the pair, did most of the work on this air essay. I am sure he must have had a great deal of help from a lot of people at CBS. I know that Sig Mickelson, Director of Public Affairs for Radio, worked closely with both men. The methods employed by Murrow and Friendly, already made popular by their "I Can Hear It Now" albums, are perfect for the radio documentary. Last summer, I reported on an hour's program done for the ABC network by a writer named Michael Sklar who uses re-recordings of a decade and a half from "Town Meeting of the Air" to produce a radio show far more exciting, and far more forthright too, than "Town Meeting" ever was. Now Murrow, Friendly and Mickelson have carried the format one step further by planning ahead, gathering quickly and editing conscientiously and with fine humor a piece of history that was still vibrating when it was broadcast. With such achievements, radio is here to stay a while longer.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: Two Ladies

THE LADY is not for burning in Christopher Fry's play because, though foolishly held to be a witch, she is life itself. Samson Raphaelson's lady, whose name is Hilda Crane, burns herself—or, more prosaically, takes an overdose of sleeping pills—because she does not know how to live.

Hilda Crane was brought up by a fond father to think that women are the equal of men—that is, equal to anything. She goes out into the world and soon discovers her mistake. She is not fit for the business world in which she finds herself a commodity of masculine and mercantile aggressiveness. She returns to her home and her narrow, frigid Midwestern mother. She must make a choice: either to marry a kindly Babbitt who loves her or to co-habit with an eager professor who wants her. She chooses the Babbitt, commits adultery with the professor and is thereupon afflicted with a sense of sin.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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There is good subject matter here, and Mr. Raphaelson is utterly in earnest about it. Unfortunately, the development of the play is as schematic as a scenario. The information given us in a series of unfleshed characterizations is insufficient to make us fully believe, feel or understand any of the play's people. The point Raphaelson is trying to make is that the modern American woman has lost the capacity to attach herself to any one man. The fault lies partly in the lovelessness of her parents' marriage, the disastrous error of her father's ideology, the harshness of the world, the platitude of the Midwestern social landscape, the economic and emotional insecurity of the intelligentsia. All this may be so, but the Babbitt of the play, in so far as he is anything but a cliché, seems altogether superior to the professor, who is an idiot and a cad if he is anything; the mother, whom the daughter resents, is altogether more substantial than Hilda, who ends by seeming as inconsequential as a case in one of the radio courts of domestic relations. Perhaps the trouble is with Hilda's men, after all.

The production of "Hilda Crane," though it includes two able actresses, Jessica Tandy and Evelyn Varden, treats the script too literally, and thus fails to give it the perspective of a definite interpretation.

It would be easy to set Fry's play down as an experiment in euphuism, the perfection of preciosity or just unplain pretty talk. It is something more than that. The literary virtuosity is there, all right, with its constant sizzle and sputter of verbal sparklers. But all this, though it offers its own measure of sophisticated entertainment and novelty, represents a special mood and meaning that are worth study.

There are three basic ways of facing life. One can love it and struggle with it—the creative way; one can loathe it and curse it—the destructive way; one can suffer and accommodate oneself to it—the civilized way. The first way is becoming increasingly rare; the second is a distorted form of heroism made familiar by the grandiose pessimists of old; the third is the prevalent pattern of modern intellectuals.

Christopher Fry is one of those who most delightfully acquiesce. "Has death become the most fashionable way to live?" someone asks in "The Lady's Not For Burning." Fry's answer, intellectually speaking, is yes. The civilized man is not a humble citizen who tries to make the best of a bad job, for such a person is only meagerly conscious of his position. The civilized man knowingly swears: "Your world history's the fear of a possible leap by a possible antagonist out of a possible shadow, or a not improbable skeleton out of your dead-certain cupboard." He yawns at "mortal life, women, all governments, wars, art, science, ambitions and the entire fallacy of human emotions"! But being civilized—though still very human—he lends himself with wistful humor to "the unholy mantrap of love" and declares "the best thing we can do is to make whatever we're lost in look as much like home as we can."

The epigraph for Fry's art is, "Shall we not suffer as wittily as we can?" Fry is witty. His suffering arouses no tears—he is too conscientiously comfortable to do that—but he is not without tenderness. He wears his rue with a difference—of bright phrases, happy conceits and a rich heritage of English verse. His play contains no characters, but he can fashion charming characterizations—the Chaplain, the mother—his plot is haphazard, but he spins some graceful scenes. His writing, marked by an ecstatically twittering indulgence in its own felicity, ranges from poetry to poetastering.

All this is as up-to-date (despite the "fifteen-century" setting) as existentialism or a Christian Dior gown. For this reason, I do not believe the play is produced in a way to reveal its true spirit. Probably no one in England or America could have done a better job of it than John Gielgud and his excellent company (the best acting is that of Eliot Makeham as the Chaplain), but the production lacks a real style. This requires further explanation, for which, at the moment, I lack space.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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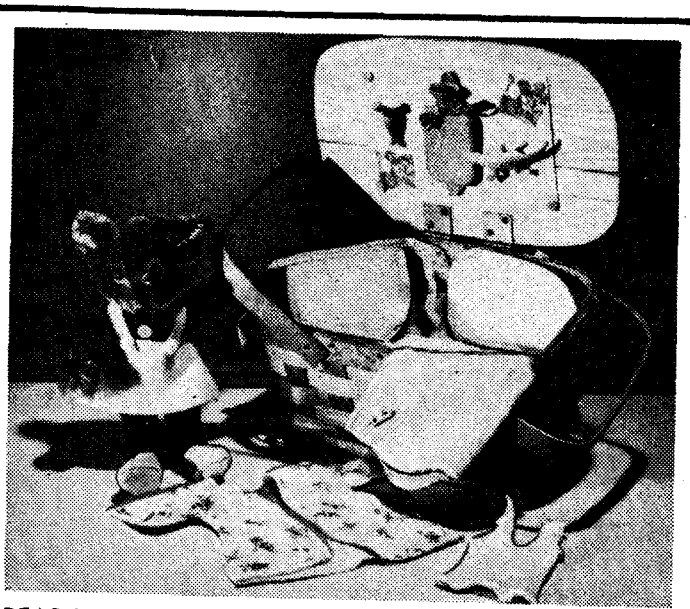

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He predicted the 1929 crash— *Ralph Borsodi*

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News Item

Washington—The U. S. Bureau of Labor wholesale price index shows that prices are now 2¾% higher than two months ago; 3.7% higher than six months ago and 103.8% higher than in 1939 when inflation started. Most economists agree that they will rise at the rate of at least 1% monthly during the coming year.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN is worried:

In his Mid-Year Economic Report the president called upon labor to forego "wage demands of a character which might lead to another inflationary spiral."

BERNARD M. BARUCH scores the administration for "invitation to inflation":

Adviser to presidents in two world wars, Baruch testified that Truman's tax proposals and limited mobilization of the home front are inadequate. Baruch demanded rationing, price, wage and rent controls without which the administration bill "is an invitation to inflation."

JOHN T. FLYNN warns in the Reader's Digest

John T. Flynn warns that federal deficit spending creates more inflation: "There are millions who own life insurance policies payable in dollars now worth only 60c.

What you need to know for protection

1. What to do about *your* savings and bank deposits *now* —before it is too late to stop their melting away.
2. What to do *now* about *your* government bonds and securities *you* own.
3. What to do *now* about shrinkage in the value of *your* life insurance.
4. What to do *now* to avoid danger of foreclosure on *your* farm or home.
5. What those dependent on wages or salaries from jobs should do *now.*
6. What families which live in cities or rent their homes should do *now.*
7. What those on pensions or depending on social security when unemployed should do for real security *now.*
8. What our national leaders should do *now* to prevent a catastrophic depression—*but won't.*

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